

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6166

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 17597

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW, UR

SUBJECT: FRG VIEWS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AND ROMANIAN
PROPOSAL

REF: (A) GENEVA 6707; (B) BONN 17186; (C) GENEVA 6756

1. IN NOVEMBER 8 CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR,
FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR, VAN WELL, CONFIRMED THAT FRG
REGARDS LATEST SOVIET FORMULATION ON PEACEFUL CHANGE
(KOVALEV TEXT OF OCTOBER 23) AS RETROGRESSIVE STEP
THAT TAKES US BACK TO WHERE WE WERE ON APRIL 5. IN
EFFECT, VAN WELL SAID, GROMYKO HAD "WITHDRAWN" THE
TEXT HE GAVE TO GENSCHER ON SEPTEMBER 26 IN NEW YORK.
THE SOVIETS, AS GERMANS NOW SEE IT, HAVE APPARENTLY
CONCLUDED THAT THE WEST IS NOT UNITED ON THIS ISSUE
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AND THAT LACK OF WESTERN UNITY PROVIDES THEM WITH

OPPORTUNITY FOR ISOLATING THE FRG. VAN WELL THOUGHT THAT GROMYKO HAD MADE THIS INTERPRETATION VIRTUALLY INESCAPABLE WHEN, DURING THE RECENT FRG VISIT TO MOSCOW, HE HAD POINTED HIS FINGER AT GENSCHER AND ACCUSED THE GERMANS OF BEING ALONE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMPASSE ON THIS ISSUE.

2. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG HAD SHOWN INTEREST IN A VARIETY OF FORMULATIONS PROPOSED SINCE APRIL BECAUSE THEY SEEMED TO SHOW THAT THE SOVIETS WERE AT LEAST MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE "US TEXT" (I.E., THE TEXT AGREED BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND GENSCHER AND TABLED AT CSCE ON JULY 26). HOWEVER, THE GERMAN REACTION TO THIS LATEST SET-BACK WAS TO INSIST MORE STRONGLY THAN EVER ON THE PURITY OF THE "US TEXT". VAN WELL SAID HE NOW THOUGHT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE FRG TO ACCEPT ANY "WEAKENING" OF THIS TEXT. HE RECALLED THAT SCHMIDT HAD TOLD BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY REMAINING OPEN ISSUE AT CSCE WHICH WAS ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO BONN.

3. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG POSITION OF INSISTING ON THE US TEXT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THEIR EC PARTNERS AT THE LAST MEETING OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS, AND HAD THEIR FULL SUPPORT. HE ASSUMED IT HAD OUR SUPPORT AS WELL, SINCE "THE US WOULD CERTAINLY BE THE LAST TO WITHDRAW ITS OWN FORMULA". HE COMMENTED THAT THE FRG DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON FURTHER BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS ISSUE.

4. COMMENT: THE FRG POSITION IS EVIDENTLY TO STONE-WALL FOR THE TIME BEING IN THE HOPE THAT SOLID SUPPORT FROM THE ALLIES WILL CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT A POLICY OF DIVIDE AND CONQUER WILL BEAR NO FRUIT.

5. IN CONCLUSION, VAN WELL BRIEFLY RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-USE OF FORCE, SAYING THAT THE FRG FOUND IT ATTRACTIVE AND HOPED THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF DOING SOMETHING FOR THE ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS ON A MATTER OF OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE TO THEM, CONFIDENTIAL

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WE COULD SUPPORT IT. HIS VIEW WAS THAT ANY PROBLEMS RAISED BY PARA 3 WITH REGARD TO ALLIED FORCES' ACCESS TO BERLIN WERE ADEQUATELY DEALT WITH BY THE LANGUAGE WORKED OUT IN THE BONN GROUP ON PROTECTION OF QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. HE ASKED THAT WE REVIEW OUR POSITION ON THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL IN THIS LIGHT.
HILLENBRAND

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